

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.) 576

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [565] [593] [595] [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden). [482]

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament. [195]

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *au*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (if) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap. [554] [516]

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down. [264] [576]

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 516 [171]

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too. 854

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lovalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles. [291] [171]

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vals* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another. 201

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. [514] [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (400), also wear the hair quite short. 302 [171]

OF THE TONGA PEOPLE.

269

Formerly the whole of the clubs used to be engraved, but now this ornamental work is confined to the handle: it is executed with a great deal of neatness. A shark's tooth used to be the instrument, but now they make a sort of graver out of a nail flattened, sharpened, and fixed in a handle. Instances of their neatness in this sort of workmanship may be seen in our museums, and in the engraved representations of other works.

FY CAVA, shaving the beard. They have two modes of performing this operation, viz. with the two valves of a certain kind of shell, which they call *bi'bi*, and with pumice-stone: the latter is used by the party himself who requires the operation; the former by those whose profession it is to shave others. The edge of one valve being pressed horizontally against the chin or lip by the left hand, that portion of the beard which appears upon it is rubbed or filed off by the rough back of the other valve. This operation is generally performed once in about eight or ten days. The heads of infants are always kept closely shaved; but this is done with a shark's tooth by the mother.

FE OOMOO, the art of cooking. If refinement in cookery be one proof of the civilization of a people, the natives of the South Seas have

PANGAI: A VILLAGE IN TONGA

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goods (used for making the *vala*, dresses, etc.), shirts and vests are vitally important in order to conserve what might be called a decency-status in village life.¹⁰ Soap and blue are similarly necessary to keep both clothing and the person reasonably clean. Tobacco for the villager is more than a luxury, specially when alcoholic liquor is practically unobtainable. Reels of cotton, though costing relatively little, play a vital part in clothes-repairing. Lastly, teething-powders, which account for almost one quarter of the expenditure on the items with which it is grouped in the table above (one per cent. also out of total store expenditures), perform the incredibly useful function of keeping teething infants from wailing wretchedly day and night and thus preserve a sufficient measure of quiet for adults to sleep. (Expert medical opinion in Tonga suggests that the frequent use of these teething-powders, which generally contain a large measure of powerful drugs, is one not unimportant contributory factor in a high infant mortality among the villagers. But it is hard to convince a Tongan of this fact; all the more so in that adults, children, and infants all share the same floor at night and the frustrations imposed upon one who would sleep by the wailing of a toothache-racked child can always be relieved by administering teething powders to the infant.)

The percentage-distribution of sales as set forth in this table refers only to one of the two stores in the village. There is no reason to think that the general percentages and proportions would be materially altered were it also possible to include sales from the second store in the village and also sales made to villagers from the several stores in nearby Neiafu.

Although some few men in the village obviously have a greater yearly income of money than the majority, there are as yet few signs of any tendency to reckon social prestige in terms of wealth-accumulation. The village overseer, the

¹⁰ By Tongan law, rigidly enforced, men and women (both Tongan and white) must cover with clothing upper and lower parts of the body. Considerable ingenuity is exercised by those pleading before Tongan courts in order to determine what constitutes for men an upper garment that infringes neither law nor decency. Apparently a necklace does not constitute an upper garment but a shirt collar with hardly more than a tatter of shirt hanging precariously to the collar, is considered to be well within the law!

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in
 846 the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *meheki-*
 601 *tanga* (father's sister) may come into the house and hold the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined
 854 entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

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mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

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No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

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[561]

Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

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As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

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[589]

Nurturance is a valued role, particularly for women. In about 5 percent of the adoptions, single women were the adopters, but in no case did a single man adopt.¹ Tongan infants are given a great deal of care during their first year or two. They are always picked up and held whenever they cry or show signs of discontent; they are always held when going to sleep and only placed in bed after they are asleep. Infants are bundled in wool and flannel clothing to protect them against non-existent cold weather, but the extra clothing demonstrates the competence of the mother and gives psychological security for her.

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Tongans also believe a childless couple is likely to quarrel and separate because "they have no reason to remain together". An obvious correlate of this belief is that a childless couple experiencing difficulties can solve their problems by adopting a child.

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Children may also be adopted to replace the loss of a biological child or to provide a playmate for an only child. Parents who have had only boys or only girls often desire a child of the opposite sex and will adopt one. However, there seems to be no strong preference in sex of children; both sexes are adopted with about equal frequency.

Economic motivations are not often given as reasons for adopting, but children are obligated to assist aged parents materially. In a few cases children are adopted to provide heirs, but legally an adopted child cannot inherit land unless the adoption is recognized by the courts and, as demonstrated earlier, legal adoptions are relatively few.

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Motivations are somewhat different in declining household adoptions. In declining households the children are grown and usually have

¹ [For footnote, see p. 122--Analyst]

- 137 'Eua: Parks 16262 [cited by Croizat]; forested area near center of island, Mar. 18, 1953, Yuncker 15322.
Infrequent. Also in Fiji.

Genus *Macaranga* Thouars

Macaranga harveyana (Mueller-Argoviensis) Mueller-Argoviensis, in DC.
Prodr. 15(2): 998, 1866.

Small, soft-wooded, dioecious tree, up to 8 m. or more tall, branchlets stout, pithy. Leaves alternate, peltate, round-ovate, acuminate, very shallowly toothed or entire, paler and golden glandular-dotted beneath, about eight-nerved from petiole, midrib branched upward, up to 20 cm. or more long and 18 cm. wide, commonly somewhat smaller, petioles up to 15 cm. or more long, stipules lanceolate, long-acuminate, up to 2 cm. long. Flowers small, in axillary, paniculate-racemose clusters; fruit depressed-globose, soft-spiny, about 1 cm. in diameter.

Tongatapu: Moseley; thicket along road near Vaini village, Feb. 26, 1953, Yuncker 15053 (male), 15065 (female).

'Eua: Lister; margin of old plantation between Pangai village and Fuai. Mar. 25, 1953, Yuncker 15182.

Lifuka: thicket near northern end of island near Lifuka end of interisland causeway, May 11, 1953, Yuncker 15980.

Kao: lower margin of forest near old plantation, May 6, 1953, Yuncker 15960.

Vava'u: Crosby; in clearing on slope above the lagoon at Vaihoi, May 26, 1953, Yuncker 16200.

'Tafahi: forest along path to Piu 'o 'Tafahi, alt. 150 m., Dec. 10, 1951, Hürtimann 406.

Frequent throughout Tonga, Fiji, Niue, and Samoa to the Society Islands.
Tongan name: *loupata*.

The timber is used for house construction, handicraft work, banana shooks, and other purposes; the leaves, for covering *umu* (ovens), for wrapping fish, and in medicines used for stomach disorders in infants.

Macaranga seemannii (Mueller-Argoviensis) Mueller-Argoviensis, in DC.
Prodr. 15(2): 999, 1866.

Tree up to 18 m. tall, branchlets and petioles subglabrous. Leaves alternate, broadly ovate, long-acuminate, base rounded, peltate 2.5-7.5 cm. from margin, six- to eight-nerved from petiole, glandular beneath, nerves beneath puberulent, up to 30 cm. long and 22 cm. wide but commonly somewhat smaller, petiole up to 18 cm. long, stipules oblong-lanceolate, up to 4 cm. long and 1 cm. wide. Flowers small, in axillary, paniculate clusters up to 12 cm. long; fruit smooth, glandular.

Tongatapu: Cook; U.S. Expl. Exped.

Infrequent. Also in Fiji.

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Whitcombe—Notes on Tongan Ethnology

11

- Bolo toga.** For elephantiasis (*kulokula*). The leaves are pounded and the juice extracted to make a drink.
- Bua.** For trouble connected with the afterbirth. (See *manonn*.)
- Ega.** For sores on children. Used as a drink. (See *magele*.)
- Fa, Fala.** An emetic. The ends of the young shoots that hang downward are cut off and the juice extracted.
- Fekika.** To induce vomiting. For dysentery (*tuntutoto*). (See *tora*.)
- Fekika vao.** For bee sting. (See *akataha*.)
- Fiji uli, Hailala.** For sore eyes (*tului tuhui oe mata che tevelo*; eye that has been pierced by the devil's finger). The leaves of the two plants are chewed together and the juice dropped into the eyes.
- Fiki.** For pain in the stomach (*laga oe kete*). The leaves are pounded and the juice extracted.
- Fuekula.** For constipation. The oil is extracted from the plant.
- Gatae.** Remedy for stomach pains and for *faka avaga* (one possessed of the evil spirit). The plant is pounded to extract the juice.
- Hehea.** For boils (*hehaakilagi*). The stems or scrapings from the trunk are chewed and painted over the boil. For rheumatism (*feji che tevelo*) and *faka avaga* (one possessed of the evil spirit). (See *nouu*.) For indigestion (*makehekehe*).
- Hailala.** For boils (*hagatamaki*). For sore eyes. (See *fiji uli*.)
- Hiapo kula.** For diarrhoea in small children. (See *hogohogo*.)
- Hogohogo.** For blindness.
- Hogohogo, Hiapo kula.** For diarrhoea in small children. The roots of the *hiapo kula* and the leaves of the *hogohogo* are used.
- Ifi.** For infants who are restless in their sleep. The bark of the tree is chewed and juice sprayed over the child's body.
- For an injury to the eye. The bark or small branches of the tree are pounded and the juice extracted is then dropped into the eye.
- For blindness. The trunk of the *ifi* (horse-chestnut tree) is scraped and beaten to extract the juice.
- Jialne.** For the illness of newborn infants. The juice of young green bananas (*jialne*) is given the child, followed by a warm bath in which are placed tarahi leaves. [254]
- Kanuma.** For *avaga*. (See *bata*.)
- Kava.** For stomach complaint.
- Kava lnu.** For a boil termed *tae moe laatevela* which causes the body, or affected part, to look sunburned. The juice is extracted from the leaves of the drinking kava plant and painted on the affected part.
- Kavakava ulle.** For elephantiasis (*kulokula*). The leaves are minced and spread with the juice over the affected parts.
- For boils which affect the whole body. (See *malolo*.)
- Kili mite.** Tonic for upset stomach or loss of appetite. (See *leki leki*.)
- Lagakali.** Remedy for a pain in the side.
- Lautolu.** For one who has suffered a relapse.
- Lautolu, Tono.** For *faka avaga*. The leaves from the two trees are pounded together.
- Leki leki, Kili mite.** Tonic for upset stomach or loss of appetite. The bark of both trees is pounded together and the juice used as a drink.
- Lou fuji.** For sores of children. (See *magele*.)
- Lou lau telu uta.** For *faka avaga*. The leaves are pounded to make the medicine.

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THE Tongans are a branch of the 105
Polynesian race. Their origins are
lost in antiquity but they have been
living in their scattered Pacific Islands
for a very long time, as their
oral tradition indicates.

Their isolation and environment have
evolved a way of life suitable to local
need and comparatively unshaken by
western impact. They are a self-reliant,
resourceful, agricultural people, excep-
tionally gifted in song and melody, show-
ing respect to their chiefs and devotion
to their Island home. Tonga is a self-
governing kingdom with a constitutional
monarchy, as well as a British Protected
State by virtue of a Treaty of Friend-
ship signed in 1900 and recently revised.

Since 1918, when she succeeded her 643
father on the throne, Her Majesty Queen
Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., has
reigned over this group of 150 Pacific
islands which Captain Cook, when he
visited them in the latter part of the 18th
century, aptly named "The Friendly
Islands."

Queen Salote has exercised a great
influence on the destinies of her people.
Education, already universal in the time
of King George I of Tonga, who died [87]
in 1893, has advanced, while medical [74]
and health services have been extended
and communications improved. Infant [51] ●
welfare is one of the many social ser-
vices that owes its progress to the
Queen's personal inspiration.

[P. 26-B]

98: Rowlands U-3 (no date) 1961
OU9 Tonga OU9

SATURDAY, November 12, was an important day for the members of the Tongan Women's Association, "KO E LANGA FONUA 'A E FEFINE TONGA", for it was the day of their Annual Show. Anxious glances had been cast at the sky, for the Show was to be held in the open air and the weather for some days had been uncertain. However, although the day was overcast, no rain fell and all was well.

Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou, G.C.V.O., G.B.E., who is President of the Association and who has not missed a Show since the first one was held seven years ago, inspected the exhibits. She congratulated the women on the steady improvement in the quality of the work which had been shown throughout the years.

The Tongan handwork included mats, trays, baskets of various shapes, dress materials printed with island dyes, Tongan curtains and cushions and articles made from shells. A new section this year was that for baby baskets. Other items were soap, starch, buttons and ornaments made from Tongan materials.

The sewing section had men's coats and shirts, children's clothing, embroidered dresses, knitted articles, patchwork quilts and fancy work of various kinds. The cookery section included cakes, scones, bread, jams and jellies, cordials, puddings and various Tongan delicacies.

Evidence of the various interests which had been encouraged among the

[P.34-C]

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with sweetened condensed milk, in order to "spare" the young mother "and keep her beautiful."

853 Formerly, mothers nursed their children for a very long time. Today, the average nursing period is eight to nine months, in extreme cases, 14 months. Since, in a long nursing period, the babies cannot get enough strength from their mother's milk, and the mother herself should be spared this burden, the Tongan health service tries to reduce the long nursing period by the mothers' education.--After an initial liquid, soft diet the children are given the same food as adults, as soon as they have enough teeth.

[194]

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The woman who has given birth lies on her bed (sleep mats and tapa, possibly also a European sheet and pillow) about ten days. Then she gets up and attends to the child herself. Frequently, however, her mother (or her sister) help her for another month or so. At first, the woman in childbed generally eats only light food. For example, she will eat Tongan food such as boiled yams or boiled chicken, and drink /the milk of/ a coconut warmed in the earth oven; or else she will live on European food, for example rice (that has become popular in Tonga) or white bread, zwieback and tea.

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Commonly, babies are now wrapped in European-type diapers. Women buy them readymade or they will obtain a length of material and cut it into the required pieces. In some cases they also make panties of European material or buy them readymade. Often, however, even bigger babies crawl about without any clothes at all. European soap is commonly used in caring for the baby, sometimes also baby

856 powder. At approximately nine months the little ones start their first walking exercises.

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In accordance with the parents' religion, the child is soon (within three months) carried to church for baptism, which is fol-